FELLOWSHIP

March 1946 Vol. XII—No. 3

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A SPECIAL SECTION ON

Starvation in the Wake of the War

INCLUDING:

Half a World Is Hungry
By ALFRED HASSLER

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Starvation Is Our Policy
By GLENN D. EVERETT

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AN APPEAL TO AMERICA FOR

Global Relief and Reconstruction
BY 1457 RELIGIOUS LEADERS

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The Legion's "Painless" Peacetime Draft
By JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.

•

The Origins of Civilian Public Service
By PHILIP E. JACOB

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FROM MY STANDPOINT

John Haynes Holmes

MAURICE EVANS has been doing *"Hamlet"* again in New York —a superb actor in the greatest of all English dramas! In the course of the play, Shakespeare has his say upon most questions of life and destiny. Among other things, he discusses war.

I

It seems that Norway was making war on Poland, and had obtained permission to march the Norwegian army across the soil of Denmark. In the Fourth Act, Hamlet encounters the forces of Norway moving against Poland. He asks of a captain the nature of the campaign.

> Goes it against the main of
> Poland, sir,
> Or for some frontier?

And the captain replies:

> Truly to speak, sir, and with
> no addition,
> We go to gain a little patch
> of ground,
> That hath in it no profit but
> the name.
> To pay five ducats, five,
> I would not farm it;
> Nor will it yield to Norway,
> or the Pole,
> A ranker rate, should it be
> sold in fee.

Hamlet, intelligent as always, exclaims:

> Why, then the Polack never will
> defend it.

But the captain declares that it is "already garrison'd." Whereupon Hamlet says:

> Two thousand souls, and twenty
> thousand ducats,
> Will not debate the question of
> this straw:
> This is th' imposthume of much
> wealth and peace,
> That inward breaks, and shows
> no cause without
> Why the man dies.

In a later soliloquy in this same scene, Hamlet continues his thought on the inanity of war. "I see," he says,

> The imminent death of twenty
> thousand men,
> That for a fantasy, and trick
> of fame,
> Go to their graves like beds;
> fight for a plot
> Whereon the numbers cannot try
> the cause;
> Which is not tomb enough, and
> continent,
> To hide the slain.

II

Let it be said that Hamlet is no pacifist. In the soliloquy just quoted, the Prince contrasts the willingness of the Norwegian soldiers to die for no cause at all, with his own hesitation to act "when honor's at the stake," and he looks on "a father killed, a mother stain'd." In disgust at his own frailty, he bursts out,

> O! from this time forth,
> My thoughts be bloody, or be
> nothing worth!

But with his penetrating intellect, Hamlet sees the real nature of war between the nations. And in so doing, I must believe, he voices the mind of Shakespeare. As truly as in the case of the famous speech of advice to the Players, it is the dramatist himself who is speaking through his hero. War, he says, is as ridiculous as it is cruel. Thousands of lives and tens of thousands of moneys spend for "a little patch of ground" not worth five ducats! Yet wars have been fought since the beginning of recorded time, and are still being fought or prepared for today, for no better reason than that which took Fortinbras, the Norwegian prince, against the Polacks. A stretch of territory, a frontier, a market, a harbor—for these men fight. And, for very shame, they disguise the real cause of their hostilities in highfalutin talk about honor, liberty, and justice!

It has been thought remarkable that H. G. Wells, in his *The Shape of Things to Come,* published in 1933, made a precisely accurate prophecy that World War II would break out in Poland. But why should this be regarded as remarkable?—What did Mr. Wells have to do but look around and find the particular "patch of ground" over which nations were most likely to dispute, and then name this as the spot where the shooting would begin? Remembering Danzig, the Polish Corridor, Silesia, Germany, Russia, and the Allied Powers, Wells prophesied Poland, and hit the bull's eye. If other prophets went far astray, it is because they allowed themselves to be befooled by considerations other than sheer imperialistic advantage.

Never ennoble a war. Seek in it neither glory nor honor. The causes of war are always the same—economic, political, psychological. By economic causes, we mean material gain; by political causes, we mean military and governmental power; by psychological causes, we mean the mob passion that drives men, like the Gadarene swine, "down a steep place into the sea." For these things, as Hamlet saw—and the captain also with whom he talked in the play!—men "go to their graves like beds," and the land they conquer "is not tomb enough . . . to hide the slain."

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I think of the judgment pronounced by Professor C. V. Wedgwood on the Thirty Years War in his book of this same title. Here was a war fought for a generation on both sides, for what were presented as the highest interests of religion. Yet, three centuries later, this scholar writes as follows:

> As there was no compulsion towards a conflict which, in despite of the apparent bitterness of parties, took so long to engage and needed so much assiduous blowing to fan the flame, so no right was indicated by its ragged end. The war solved no problem. Its effects, both immediate and indirect, were either negative or disastrous. Morally subversive, economically destructive, socially degrading, confused in its causes, devious in its course, futile in its result, it is the outstanding example in European history of meaningless conflict.[1]

Thus, three centuries hence, will historians write of our World Wars!

[1] Quoted by permission of the Yale University Press.

FELLOWSHIP

THE JOURNAL OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

March 1946 Vol. XII—No. 3

Half A World Is Hungry

By ALFRED HASSLER

IN THIS YEAR OF OUR LORD 1946, half a world is hungry to the point of starvation. In this first year of peace after six years of war, more people are threatened with death by hunger than were killed by the actual fighting. In this year, when Americans are grumbling because they have had to wait so long for shiny new cars and spacious new houses, half a world pulls itself listlessly along rubble-strewn streets with the apathy of the chronically undernourished, feeling the hunger and the hatred grow, stride by stride, moving inexorably toward a bitterness that can find its release only in more bloodshed and another war.

Hunger is one of the two crucial facts in this post-war world of 1946. The other is the atomic bomb. The bomb promises to destroy the world if it is ever used again; hunger is creating the conditions that may make its use inevitable. Hunger grips and rocks North and South Africa, vast areas of Asia, and almost the whole continent of Europe. In all the world, only America is eating better than ever before, and America grumbles at the timid suggestion that it might get along for a while with not-quite-so-white bread in order to feed its starving neighbors, and American Congressmen hem and haw over the tragically inadequate appropriation of one per cent of the country's income that constitutes 75 per cent of UNRRA's total budget.

It is hard to write dispassionately of this thing. It is hard to think coolly of crowded trains to Florida and $40-a-day hotel rooms at Miami Beach, and of newspapers filled with the advertisements of $79 handbags and $10,000 fur coats, and of fortunes made daily on the Stock Exchange, while more newborn babies die than survive in the broken cities of Europe. Because the two are related. As surely as though American soldiers were snatching the food from hungry mouths, this country's self-indulgence and indifference have pronounced the death sentence on millions of people, and its Administration's policy of sadistic vengeance has doomed millions more to die of starvation or disease.

Figures are poor tools with which to startle the conscience awake. Six years of war have spread a protective callous over even the most sensitive spirits, and the astronomical figures with which we have become accustomed to talk of both casualties and costs have made it almost impossible for purely quantitative descriptions to penetrate. Yet as we continue to hope that a peaceful world may come into being, we must read the figures with perception and prod our spirits to a recognition of the tragedy they contain.

Thus, in Europe, according to a United States Government report,[1] 140,000,000 people now are living and will have to continue to live for months to come on a diet of 2,000 calories per day, while 100,000,000 more will be receiving 1,500 calories or less. What that means may become clear to those who recall the pictures in *Life* recently, showing the conscientious objector "guinea pigs" in the starvation experiment at the University of Minnesota.

Those men, whose emaciated frames were eloquent testimony of what hunger means, had lived for six months on a diet of 1,550 to 1,800 calories per day. They were under constant medical supervision, yet one of them contracted tuberculosis. They found their powers of concentration seriously diminished, their irritability noticeably heightened, their susceptibility to disease vastly increased. When their diet was increased to 2,000 and then to 2,500 calories per day, they showed no appreciable recovery. Only when they were given a diet of 4,000 calories did they begin to throw off the effects of that half-year of undernourishment.

[1] Report of the Emergency Economic Committee for Europe, February 6, 1946.

Illustration by Betty Jane Edelstein

In Europe a mass of people equal to almost twice the population of the United States is subsisting on little more or even less than the quantity of food that so undermined the health of these thirty-four men! In parts of Germany and Austria the average diet has gone to less than half that amount! And this is for no six-months period, carefully supervised by doctors, in warm light buildings. This condition is endured by people who already have gone through six years of privation and terror, people who are ill-clad, people who live in the cold and drafty cellars of wrecked buildings, people whose minds have been tormented and twisted by the fears and hatreds of unending months of total war. No wonder, then that a British government spokesman warns that famine may kill more people in the next twelve months than were killed in the worst years of the war.[2] No wonder that a leading German Quaker reported to English Friends that "No child born in Germany this year will survive the coming winter. Only half the children under three years will survive." [3]

In Europe conditions are worst in Germany, where UNRRA may not function and where the devastating effects of the inhuman Potsdam Agreement are felt,[4] but there is scarcely a country on the entire continent where hunger is not a constant companion of large segments of the population, and where infant mortality and tuberculosis rates have not soared to unprecedented heights. UNRRA reports in December pointed out that three million persons in Yugoslavia alone were entirely dependent on it for food, while four million more were partly dependent and one million malnourished children needed special diets. The same agency in January warned of the acute danger of epidemics of typhus, typhoid, and diphtheria in Poland, where "the people lack almost everything—food, shelter, clothing . . . ," [5] and reported that two and a third million people of the seven million in Greece even then were suffering from malaria.[6]

More than the immediate threat of death by starvation is involved, of course. The number of such deaths has been relatively low, as has been pointed out by defenders of American policy in Europe. What happens is that people literally do not live long enough to die of starvation. Before that point comes, lowered resistance brought on by undernourishment has made them prey to other diseases. Figures reaching Geneva from France, Holland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia show that of the student population alone, from twenty to fifty per cent either have contracted or are menaced by tuberculosis. Other diseases similarly are running rampant, and threaten serious epidemics that may spread across the entire continent.

Hunger in Africa, Too

But hunger is not confined to Europe. Other continents and countries are feeling its ravages. North Africa, usually a heavy exporter of grain to Europe, suffered extremely from drought and now must import vast quantities of wheat or face the prospect of famine. Similarly in South Africa, where race discrimination is worse than in the South of the United States, four million dispossessed Africans lost crops and cattle in the "worst drought in memory," and face extreme famine conditions.[7]

Worst of all are the conditions of deliberate starvation in Japan,[8] and of threatened famines in India and in Indo-China. In India the combined effects of drought, cyclone, and war threaten a famine by mid-summer that, in the words of one official, may make the Bengal famine of 1943 "look like a picnic." (Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, delegate from India to the UNO, told that body that the Bengal famine took a toll of 1,500,000 dead by starvation in the winter of 1942-43, and that unofficial estimates put the figure at between three and four million. "In the streets of Calcutta, the second largest city in the British Commonwealth, it was a common sight to get up in the morning and see on the pavements men, women, and children dead, just because they could not get enough to eat," he said.[9]) Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, in February announced the shortage of grain to be three million tons, with the prediction that it would reach four million by summer. The daily ration already has been reduced from a pound to twelve ounces of grain, and that is not guaranteed to everyone.

Similarly in French Indo-China, where cold and hunger already have taken a bitter toll this year, officials estimate that between 600,000 and 2,000,000 persons are doomed to die of starvation during the rest of the year unless help comes swiftly and in great quantities.

Peace Is At Stake

The mere recital of such conditions ought to be enough to stir well-fed America to spontaneous and drastic action, out of sheer pity for such enormous suffering. Yet, although there is the beginning of a groundswell of popular sentiment for sending such aid, it has not been sufficient to disperse the lethargy and shame the vindictiveness that so far have dictated our policies. The government continues to be niggardly with its gifts, suspicious and revengeful in its approach, while death reaps a wholesale crop.

But there is more than humanity, more than pity, at stake. The very hope of a peaceful world that all men have cherished, is threatened by hunger. Food shortages coincide with a war-induced breakdown of political and social cohesion, and anarchy and revolt threaten to flare out in open and bitter conflict in a dozen places. Riots have occurred in India and Indo-China; demonstrations and a non-violent campaign of revolt are going on in South Africa; and all Europe and Asia are tense with political foreboding. The inescapable fact is that what this country does will be the decisive factor in this explosive situation. If America pours out its plenty, unstintingly, with the sacrificial generosity for which it has been known in the past, to relieve the awful hunger, it will make a greater contribution toward the building of a peaceful world than all the solemn political conferences that ever could be held. If, on the other hand, America gives only of its surplus, sparingly and with ill grace, starvation and disease will prove to be the seeds of a new crop of bitter hatred that ultimately may well destroy our civilization.

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2 Hector MacNeil, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Feb. 17, 1946, as reported in the New York *Times*.

3 Hans Albrecht, in a report to the British Friends Ambulance Unit, Sept. 15, 1945.

4 See following article, "Starvation Is Our Policy."

5 Dr. W. A. Sawyer, Director of Health for UNRRA. New York *Times*, Jan. 5, 1946.

6 Buell Maben, in charge of UNRRA in Greece. *Times*, Jan. 5.

7 Council on African Affairs, 23 West 26 Street, New York City.

8 See following article, "Starvation Is Our Policy."

9 New York *Herald Tribune*, Feb. 15, 1946.

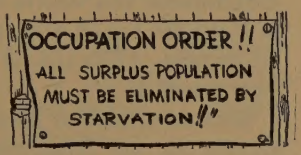
Starvation Is Our Policy

By GLENN D. EVERETT*

Illustrations by Betty Jane Edelstein

GERMANY AND JAPAN long quaked at the terms "unconditional surrender" which the Allies held out as the price for cessation of war. Convincing evidence exists that this slogan of the Allies lengthened the war and cost many lives. It is now developing that the Axis powers were in the right, in part, in fearing the vengeance of the victors. For the policy of the United States toward these areas is one of enforcing mass starvation.

No official directive to the effect that the "excess population" of our former enemies shall be eliminated by starvation has been issued, but by a series of negative decisions the same effect has been achieved.



The Situation in Germany

To understand why starvation is occurring in Germany, it is necessary to look at the peace of bitter vengeance being imposed upon her. At the Potsdam Conference in July, 1945, it was decreed by the Russians, and accepted by Britain and the United States, that the Curzon Line, delineated as a fair frontier in 1919, should be the eastern boundary of Poland. Then, by virtue of an agreement reached with Winston Churchill some months earlier, the Russians said that Poland should receive in compensation a large section of eastern Germany—all of Silesia, of Pomerania, and half of East Prussia, the remainder of East Prussia, including Koenigsberg, going to Russia.

The decision was dictated largely by the "practical" politics of the Kremlin. Russia reasoned that if Poland were given such a section of Germany to assimilate, with her boundary extending to within 30 miles of Berlin, she would be under constant threat of reprisal from a revived German Reich, and would, perforce, have to rely upon Russia to protect her frontiers. At the same time, Germany would be stripped of much of her war-making ability, as measured by present standards, and would be less likely to be able to attack the Soviet Union in the future.

Millions of persons have been affected by these boundary changes ordered by the Big Three. An official recently returned from Poland, estimates that of six million Poles who lived east of the Curzon Line, four and a half million are moving to new homes. For the most part, they are moving into Germany, where Breslau has been changed to Wroclaw, Danzig to Gdansk, and Stettin to Szileny. Nine million Germans live in Prussia, Silesia, and Pomerania. Of these, at least seven million are presently being moved. In the dead of winter they are being unceremoniously evicted from their life-long homes with only the possessions they can carry on their backs.

What Becomes of Them?

In all, eleven and a half million persons are moving across the snowy roads in a tremendous forced migration. The Poles are being cared for by UNRRA as best that agency can. The Russians are also assuming some responsibility for their welfare. They are, for instance, compelling the Germans to leave the East Prussian harvest behind, most of which is going to the Poles who move into the former German towns.

But no one is caring for the Germans. The plight of many of these groups of refugees is desperate. Take, for instance, the 800,000 citizens of Breslau. Into their city, as the Red Army advanced, came a panic-stricken throng of 200,000 refugees from Upper Silesia. Then the Russians surrounded and laid siege to the city. For six weeks its stubborn commander held out until the blockade exhausted Breslau's food supplies. Sick and hungry, wrecked by warfare, the city surrendered. During recent weeks Breslau citizens have been ordered out of the city by the thousands. Westward they trek into the new Germany. When they reach the Neisse River, the new border, much of what they carry is taken away from them, for there is a limit to the amount of goods that may be "exported" from Poland.

The diet of Germany has been officially set at 1,550 calories a day, 450 calories below the minimum subsistence level of 2,000 calories set for the rest of Europe, and less than half of the average American diet of 3,300 calories. The Germany into which these refugees arrive, therefore, is a very hungry country. Its cities have been nearly leveled by bombs, its industries either destroyed or removed as reparations. A cold, inhospitable, shelterless land greets these refugees. Many thousands of them will not survive the winter. They have no money and no place to go, there are no homes for them to live in and no jobs to be had. In a few months they will no longer be a problem, for they will no longer be alive.

Not only are the refugees starving, but hundreds of thousands of persons who lived in the industrial cities of the Ruhr, in Cologne, Aachen, Hamburg, Mainz, and the other ruined cities, who survived their torment by obliteration bombing, now are faced with the prospect of slow death.

Is this a figment of excited imagination? Is this writer exaggerating? Let the United States Government speak for itself. In its 200-page summary of "The World Food Situ-

* Washington newspaperman and FOR member, now specializing in international relations and agriculture.

ation—1946" published February 10, on pages 77-81 the Department of Agriculture says of Germany:

"In the occupation zones of the Western Allies supplies of food from domestic sources in the consumption year 1945-1946 should average 1,500 calories per person per day (1,100 for the non-farm population)."

Starvation is thus placed in parentheses! Eleven hundred calories a day is not enough to keep either adults or children alive. Every nutrition expert in the world knows it.

Our government knows that 1,100 calories a day means starvation. The report goes on to say:

"Imports now under consideration are likely to fall far short of minimum requirements deemed necessary to prevent serious disease and unrest. Even though farm controls have not deteriorated nearly as much as had been expected, domestic supplies left for the non-farm population are sorely inadequate. The food situation and outlook in the zones of the Western Allies have been viewed with grave concern by a Combined Nutrition Committee, composed of United States, United Kingdom, and French experts, who made repeated surveys of conditions. The Committee as far back as August, 1945, indicated that an immediate increase in the urban 'normal consumer' ration to 1,550 calories is of paramount importance, not only because of nutritional considerations, but also in view of the serious shortage of fuel and inadequate shelter. It was further recommended that this ration be raised to 1,700 calories in the worst areas not later than January 1, 1946."

In speaking of the prospect for *reduced* rations for the remainder of this consumption year (which extends until the next harvest), the report warns:

"If rations must be reduced even from the present low levels, the situation in Germany, already characterized by a conspicuous rise in death rates, especially infant mortality, and in the incidence of epidemics, may abruptly take an alarming turn."

Some legal justification exists for the present trial—and imminent execution—of the twenty prominent war criminals at Nuremberg, but the sentence of starvation thus pointed out by our Department of Agriculture is taking the lives of (1) infants just born, (2) elderly people, (3) women and young children, and (4) the nine million Germans who had the misfortune of living in the areas which were detached by the peace settlement. As a policy of retribution upon a nation for its crimes, it appears to be blind, stupid, and unjust.

Whose responsibility is this policy? The Department of Agriculture describes the British food situation in these words: "Food supplies in the United Kingdom [in 1946] promise to be more restricted than during the wartime years." Of the situation in the Soviet Union the report declares: "Food is still being rationed with wartime severity. The food situation, while still rather grim, has been slowly improving . . ."

Of the United States, on the other hand, it points out that agricultural production is 35 per cent above the prewar average, in contrast to a reduction of 12 per cent in the rest of the world. We are the world's *only* well-fed nation, the only country with more food than before the war, and with plenty of food to export.

We have recently decided to take sufficient action to meet our export commitments, though belated and insufficient. Now the question is where this food is to go. President Truman declares that liberated nations are to have priority, but he does indicate that at least some is to go to former enemy countries. In this connection, the Army has finally decided that it would not be a violation of policy for the Quakers to give milk to orphaned children, although this had been persistently refused for six months. At the same time, it is unofficially learned that the Military Government will receive 60,000 tons of wheat in response to a request for an allocation of 200,000 tons for the next six months. (The U.S. is shipping one million tons abroad each month.)

Such an allocation manifestly is not enough. If present exports are not large enough to give Germany sufficient food to keep her urban population alive at 1,500 calories a day, certainly the plump and prosperous American consumer—and America's well-fed livestock herds—can make a further sacrifice of grain. Advocates of a "hard peace" would scarcely approve, but they need to learn what the terms of their negative declarations mean; they need to see what kind of peace they are, in effect, imposing upon the unconditionally surrendered enemy.

The Situation in Japan

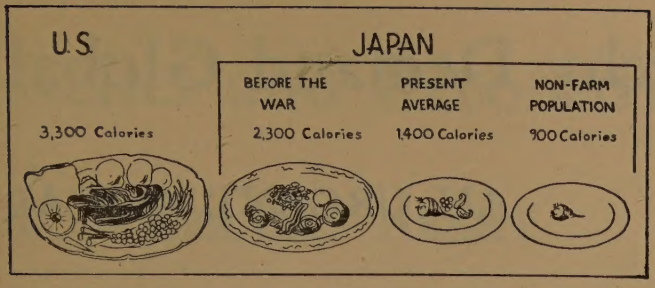
Against the background of intense suffering in Germany, the situation in Japan would seem to be merely a horrible footnote. But Japan in the months to come will be the scene of even worse suffering and more inhumane policy. On pages 130-33 of the world food report, the Department of Agriculture says this about Japan:

"The end of hostilities found Japan in a difficult food situation. In the months since then, Japan's food outlook has become even more difficult, largely as a result of unfavorable weather for the 1945 rice crop. With the loss of food imports from the areas formerly under its domination, the country is entirely dependent on its own food resources and on such imports as it will be permitted to receive.

"Because of the shortage of food, several products not heretofore used as food, are being specially prepared for consumption. Products such as acorns, silkworms, and locusts, refuse from the manufacture of industrial products, vegetable leaves, and other by-products of agricultural production are dried and ground into flour and are expected to provide 150,000 short tons of food during 1946."

A revolting picture! How would you care for a portion of flour made from ground silkworms and industrial refuse? Yet this is the *official description* of what the Japanese are eating under the American occupation.

Even with this diet of desperation, the Japanese are not going to escape mass starvation. The Department points out that the pre-war diet of Japan, which was notoriously deficient, averaged 2,300 calories daily, of which 1,800 were obtained from domestic production (including fish-



ing). By 1945 the war had cut this to 2,000 calories, "and it is estimated that 1945 food production will provide only 1,400 calories a day." In addition, the farmers, themselves already starved, are holding on to such food as they can, so that there will be available "to the non-farm population only about 900 calories from domestic production."

Yet even this does not tell the worst of the story, for as the report succinctly states:

"The food situation for 1945-46 is further complicated by the increase in population. It is estimated that the population at the beginning of 1946 totaled 77 million, compared with 72 million before the war."

Life magazine in a recent issue describes the repatriation of eight million Japanese from Formosa and Korea, which is adding to the population of the home islands. They are coming into the country, stripped of all belongings except what they can carry on their backs, and with only $67 in currency. They are being ordered upon arrival to go to their last places of residence in Japan, often to cities which have been bombed out of existence or to former residences they have not seen in 30 years. And, according to *Life's* correspondent, they face a considerable unemployment problem when they arrive. Many old persons and children are dying on the journey, as *Life's* pictures vividly portray. Those would appear to be the lucky ones. The others will have to linger on to starve gradually on their diet of 900 calories a day, including ground silkworms and industrial refuse! Machine-gunning of the eight million Japanese who have been marked for death because of the misfortune of residence in territories being taken from Japan would be a far more humane method of liquidation!

Japan's Import Needs

The estimated food needs of Japan call for three to five million tons of imports, on the basis of "the diet that is used as the minimum to avoid disease and unrest." What are Japan's chances of getting such imports? Let the Department of Agriculture state the case:

"The acute food situation has been recognized by the Allied Supreme Command, and the Japanese Government has been granted permission to import food. The amount that may be imported has not yet been indicated by the Allied Powers. The seriousness of the food situation in other areas of the world and the limited supplies available to meet these needs, as well as Japan's ability to pay for imported foodstuffs, are factors that will enter into the determination of imports."

Japan is not likely to get much food unless the Allies exert considerable effort in her behalf. Without imports, the prospect of starvation is real, imminent and undeniable.

The aim of American occupation policy, as specifically stated in the instance of Japan, is the creation of a peaceful, democratic nation that will live as a respected member of the family of nations again and wage war no more. We have never come that close to stipulating a goal for our German policy, but presumably it is something similar. At the moment, both countries are faced with such starvation that reconstruction of their terribly devastated cities and economic system is rendered impossible. Human beings on the verge of death, as many Germans and Japanese now are, have no energy with which to build a new nation and look forward to a better future. The most disturbing conclusion of the United States Government's report is that very little improvement in the agricultural situation of either nation is in sight for 1946. There are shortages of nearly everything needed for agriculture, and the farmers lack the physical energy to cultivate their fields. Further, the dying residents of the cities have absolutely nothing to exchange for such produce as the farmers may bring to market.

Starvation Will Continue

This means, and it is definitely and clearly predicted by our officials, that starvation will continue in Germany and Japan next winter just as it is occurring this winter. Month by month the people will weaken and die. Ultimately, the population may come down to the level that can be supported at bare subsistence by the badly wrecked agricultural and economic establishment. Until this happens—or until sufficient food imports are brought into Germany and Japan to permit real reconstruction and rehabilitation to begin—suffering of the most intense nature will be inflicted, suffering that will make the Allied blockade of Germany in 1919 seem pale by comparison.

If millions of our former enemies are to be deprived of life, let courts be set up to determine which should die, and let the crime be committed openly and quickly. Let the condemned go by the millions to the slaughterhouse in the full sight of men. But let them not be tortured month by month, until they die, desperately swallowing ground silkworms.

The peace settlement being imposed upon our former enemies violates every principle of Christianity. It violates every principle of reconciliation. It defeats its own ends. A profound change from our present negative policy is immediately required. Alert humanitarian citizens cannot begin too soon to support those members of Congress who are even now strongly demanding a change in our occupation policy.

Selective Feeding

Reprinted in the *Congressional Record* is a story told by Dr. Lawrence Meyer, after his return from an investigation of conditions in the American zone in Germany. "In Frankfort at a children's hospital," wrote Dr. Meyer, "there have been set aside 25 out of 100 children. These will be fed and kept alive. It is better to feed 25 enough to keep them alive and let 75 starve now than to feed the 100 for a short while and let them all starve."

Hunger and Anarchy Demand Global

Know What Hunger Is?

All the words about hunger will not tell you half so well the way hungry Europeans feel as will a day of eating the kind of meals they eat. Here is a typical day's diet from Poland, as published by the Share-the-Food Plan. Live on such a diet one day a week, and send the money saved to a relief agency, or live on it simply for the understanding of hunger it gives you.

Breakfast

Adults: 1 cup ersatz tea or coffee (use sassafras tea or non-caffeine drink), no milk or sugar; 1 slice bread, very rarely butter.

Children: As above, with the occasional addition of a little milk, very little sugar, *or* thin jam or cheese.

Dinner

Adults: Vegetable, barley, or potato soup; 1 slice bread.

Children: Same.

Supper

Adults: Potato soup *or* cereal; 1 slice bread *or* 1 cup ersatz tea or coffee.

Children: 1 slice bread with jam; occasionally an egg; a little milk and sugar with "coffee"; fresh fruit in summer.

—o—

Have Another Steak, Sir!

Meat consumption in the United States during 1946 will average 150 pounds per person, according to most recent estimates. (This is 18 pounds higher than 1945, and 25 pounds above the 1935-39 average.) The *highest* expected meat quota on the continent of Europe will be Holland's 28 pounds per person. In other words, the average American will eat as much meat each day as the average Hollander eats in six days, and the Hollander will be envied by the rest of Europe!

—o—

Sugar Shortage

In the last quarter of 1945, UNRRA was allotted 19,000 tons of sugar from the USA, with which to feed a hungry world. During the same period, the American soft drink industry was allotted *three times as much sugar*, and American civilians got 982,000 tons!

AN URGENT APPEAL

AN AVERAGE DIET of 2,650 calories per day is the minimum for health and efficiency. We in the United States get 3,300 calories per day. But in Europe 140,000,000 persons have to live on 2,000 calories per day, and 100,000,000 others on 1,500 or less. In other words, hundreds of millions of persons in Europe—and in Asia and Africa too—are threatened with literal starvation, at the same time that Americans are better fed than ever before.

Religious and humanitarian considerations must impel us to give out of the abundance God has bestowed upon us to stop this starvation. But more than relief is needed. *In the stricken lands all the normal processes of life must be set going again,* so that the peoples may be able in a self-respecting manner to take care of themselves and to do their part in building a saner and happier world.

To this end we in this favored land must now put forth *efforts comparable to those we put forth during the war* to help people to fill up the gaps in housing; in farm, industrial, and transportation equipment; in educational facilities. It is idle to expect that the ravages of war can be repaired merely by relief appropriations which hardly amount to the sum spent in one week of war.

We advocate, therefore:

1. That Congress vote immediately *one billion dollars* (in addition to sums already appropriated) for immediate relief abroad—to be distributed to the needy on a non-political basis, regardless of whether they dwell in lands that were friendly, enemy, or neutral during the war.

2. That the government at once remove all barriers to the prompt transfer into areas of need of material aid furnished by private agencies, this to include removal of restrictions on mail and parcel service to all countries.

3. That the people of this country assure the President of their approval of steps already taken to restore rationing, and declare their willingness to accept any additional measures that the situation may require. Also that concerned individuals and families ration themselves in order that they may be able to give sacrificially in money or kind.

4. That a large-scale World Reconstruction Program be worked out to set the processes of economic life in motion everywhere. Such a program should be backed

Relief and Reconstruction Effort Now!

TO AMERICA'S HEART

by the United States with sums of money bearing a reasonable relation to the vast amounts spent during the war, and should be raised by "Humanity Loans" or in such other ways as thoroughly impartial study may suggest. At the same time, all policies which result in the economic strangulation of conquered peoples should be abandoned in favor of a policy of rebuilding the world-community as a united whole.

Such a program as this would *provide employment for American man-power on the farm and in industry.* Self-centered and isolationist aloofness from the needs and problems of the world will cause us to be hated by all nations, and deservedly so. Universal misery and economic disorganization can but lead to another and more terrible global war. But in a world that is prosperous, secure, and grateful to us for material aid and for creative political leadership, we shall ourselves find the security that no armies or navies or stockpiles of atomic bombs can bring us.

W. S. Abernethy
M. Forest Ashbrook
William Ward Ayer
Roland H. Bainton
David D. Baker
Albert E. Barnett
Gilbert A. Beaver
Harold L. Bowman
Henry J. Cadbury
J. Henry Carpenter
Allan Knight Chalmers
Bernard C. Clausen
Everett R. Clinchy
Donald B. Cloward
George L. Collins
George B. Corwin
James A. Crain
Henry Hitt Crane
Fred Eastman
Phillips P. Elliott
Nels F. S. Ferre
Harold E. Fey
Harry Emerson Fosdick
George M. Gibson
Richard B. Gregg
Georgia Harkness
John Haynes Holmes
Charles W. Iglehart
John Paul Jones
Rufus M. Jones
William E. Lampe
Kenneth Scott Latourette
W. Appleton Lawrence
Mary Ely Lyman
Paul G. Macy
N. C. McPherson, Jr.
Alfred D. Moore
L. B. Moseley
A. J. Muste
John Oliver Nelson
Clarence Pickett
Edwin McNeill Poteat
Paul Roberts
W. Harold Row
Paul Scherer
Ralph W. Sockman
John W. Suter
Arthur L. Swift
John W. Thomas
Ernest F. Tittle
Charles Leslie Venable
Theodore D. Walser

At the time Fellowship went to press more than fourteen hundred religious leaders in addition to those above had signed the statement, and signatures were still coming in at the rate of two hundred a day.

The substance of the above statement was also embodied in a resolution adopted by a conference of representatives of twenty-four religious and peace groups held at Atlantic City, February 12 to 14.

How Big Is a Billion?

To people who are accustomed to living on an income of a few thousand dollars a year, the American contribution of $1,350,000,000 to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is likely to sound like a lot of money. It might be worth while to compare it with a few other figures:

The American grocery bill in 1946 will be in the vicinity of 20 billion dollars. That will represent the money spent for food alone for 140 million people. The billion and a third dollars to UNRRA must be spread across hundreds of millions of people, and must cover clothing and shelter, as well as food. The U.S. allotment, moreover, represents 75 per cent of the total funds of UNRRA (not because we are more generous, but because we are so very rich).

$1,350,000,000 represents the cost of approximately five days of war. In two years, the United States has obligated itself to give to relief the equivalent of the cost of *less than two weeks of war!*

The United States spent two billion dollars developing the atomic bomb.

—o—

André Trocmé Writes:

"We have no coal, and wood is so terribly expensive that most of the houses are heated only in a single room and for the preparation of meals. . . . Food conditions are worsening: no milk, almost no fats (100 grams—1/5 lb.—per month), practically no meat and no fruits. We live on potatoes and two-thirds of a pound of a dark-brown soybean bread. . . . Three new cases of tuberculosis among young people in my parish show the deep consequences of malnutrition."

Act Now!

1. Tell the government (your Senators, Congressman, the President) of your concern and your willingness to accept rationing again if necessary. (Mimeographed petitions available at the Post-War World Council, 112 E. 19th St., New York City 3.)

2. See that copies of this issue and other relevant material get to your newspaper editor, church groups, minister, union meetings, etc.

The Legion's "Painless" Peacetime Draft

By JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR.

THE OPPOSITION to the War Department's proposal for a year of peacetime military conscription has been so vigorous that a "painless" plan for compulsory military training is being sought as a substitute. With this in mind the American Legion has launched a political campaign to secure adoption of a slightly modified draft proposal.

The Legion's campaign was launched among members of Congress at a banquet sponsored by the Legion Auxiliary on January 25. Approximately 250 Congressmen attended. Several days prior to the dinner the National Commander of the Legion announced the appointment in each Congressional district of a five-man committee responsible for arousing local support for the Legion plan.

The Legion plan provides that all boys should be compelled to take a year of military training beginning at the age of eighteen or when they graduate from high school. All of them must spend a basic training period of four months in central camps. At the end of four months every boy must spend the rest of the year in Regular Army camps unless he fits into one of the following alternatives:

1) If he goes to a college that has R.O.T.C. he must take four years military training and spend at least one additional summer in Army camps.

2) If he lives near a National Guard armory he can take a period (probably three years) of National Guard training, or similar training in the Organized Reserve.

3) If he is selected by the Army he can take the remainder of his training in industry, technological institutes, or professional schools.

How It Would Work

The Legion plan is compulsory and thus has all the defects inherent in any conscript program. It takes boys from home against their will, subjects them to an imposed discipline administered by Army officers, and molds them for their ultimate purpose—to kill. The four-month camp experience with the anonymity of the uniform and the absence of normal home contacts will be a coarsening experience, as Army life always has been. It will be a mental preparation for war and as such will tend to encourage the feeling that war is a necessary if not the natural way to settle serious international disputes.

The attempt of the Legion plan to integrate military training with education will in the long run tend to militarize education. Since most boys who plan to go to college would prefer to take their military training in college rather than spend an extra time in the Army, the tendency would be for the colleges which have military units to profit at the expense of those which do not. Many schools which do not have military training will be forced to accept it or go out of business.

Even if the average college wanted to install a military unit, it would face difficult problems. One such problem is bound up in the fact that many of our colleges are church schools, either by tradition or by actual control. Practically every major religious body has gone on record against compulsory military training in peacetime, and certainly few would want it forced upon their young men through church-related institutions. The college and church would be faced with the issue of discontinuing the college's church connection or having the church compromise with its peace testimony.

This is not a small problem. There are more than 1700 civil colleges in the United States, 1248 of which enrolled male freshmen in 1939. Before the war, R.O.T.C. training was offered in about 115 civil colleges. Many of the colleges not offering it were small church colleges.

The presence of military units on the college campus presents a problem of real importance both to education and to world peace. In the first place, there is a tendency for those students who take military training to believe in such cliches as the "inevitability of war" or "it is human nature to fight." At the University of Chicago Dr. Eliot Porter in a study on "Student Opinion on War" found that a group of advanced R.O.T.C. students had a higher average in the expression of militaristic opinion than any other group he studied. A similar conclusion came from the independent studies of Professor Herbert W. Rogers, of Lafayette College, and Dr. Harry A. Overstreet. Dr. Overstreet found that there are two ideas at the bottom of the military philosophy being taught: "First, a skepticism as to any save a warlike means of settling international disputes; and second, an ill-concealed admiration for the warlike virtues." [1]

Military Control

In the second place, the presence of high-ranking officers on college faculties, with their influence and control over the military purse-strings, endangers the real purpose of education. Anti-war or anti-conscription speakers may thus be prevented from using college facilities, if only because the college president or dean does not want to offend the R.O.T.C. officers and men. Sometimes also academic freedom can be jeopardized by the problem which arises from the anti-war teaching of a professor coming in conflict with those of R.O.T.C. officers.

The officer candidates who take their training in college instead of in Army camps will not have had as much regular training as the privates who stay in the Army camps. The only way to correct this and to prepare the officers for modern war is to have the colleges equipped with adequate training buildings, fields, and machinery for courses in aviation, amphibious landings, artillery, tanks, radar, etc. Even to mention these is absurd, for artillery practice, bombing, combat flying, and mechanized warfare in general are not possible in a college town. Yet experience in such matters is essential for officers who have had no previous military experience of this sort. Even if the colleges could provide this training, the Army could not afford to equip more than one type of military unit at most R.O.T.C. colleges. This means that boys attending that college would have to train to be officers in that branch of the Army regardless of aptitude or interest.

[1] "Military Training—A Critical Appraisal," Edwin C. Johnson, *Progressive Education*, January, 1935.

From a strictly military standpoint R.O.T.C. is inadequate. Maj. Gen. Ray E. Porter, who represented the War Department before the House Military Affairs Committee in December, 1945, testified: "The insufficient time available, the short instruction periods, the lack of suitable terrain and training facilities, the absence of field service conditions, and the impracticability of providing combined training, make it impossible in the schools to convey any real conception of the nature of modern war, much less to prepare the soldier for combat."

When R.O.T.C. is discredited from the standpoint of its military effectiveness it seems evident that the real aim of R.O.T.C. is indoctrination with militarism. Major Bloxham Wood, U.S. Army, bore out this contention when he said: "The R.O.T.C. units in the high schools are the greatest factor making for military preparedness in this country, for they make every boy who takes such instruction an envoy for military preparedness. These boys in turn bring home the value and necessity of such training, even into homes that might otherwise be antagonistic."

When the Legion proposes officer training for those who go to college it is proposing *class legislation.* The eight to ten per cent who are financially able to go to college would become the officer class. Boys who were able to go to college only because they earned a substantial sum during the summer months would be seriously handicapped because at least two summers would have to be spent in Army camps.

Involves Discrimination

Moreover, the Legion is advocating a plan which inevitably involves discrimination against persons on the basis of race. Some states do not permit Negroes to join the National Guard or go to R.O.T.C. colleges. Many Negroes would thus be forced into the Regular Army.

The Legion plan discriminates also against boys from rural districts. National Guard training which is taken at night so as to permit boys to live at home and work, by its nature must be done in units which are concentrated in population centers. The last published report of the Chief of the National Guard Bureau (June 30, 1937) shows that there were only 1,747 approved armories in the entire United States, whereas there are 3,025 counties and 3,251 cities of 2,500 or more population. It is financially, physically, and organizationally impossible to build National Guard armories within travel distance of more than a fraction of the boys in the country. The Army could not supply training and material to equip so many small units. Thus, many boys on farms and in small towns would be forced to spend the full year in Army camps.

In addition to critizing R.O.T.C. training, Maj. Gen. Porter of the War Department criticized the National Guard training proposal. He said: "I know that it will never be practicable during periods of peace for the National Guard to complete the training of its personnel to the extent that it would be able to participate successfully in modern combat without approximately a year of additional training after the Guard is called into Federal service."

When the War Department states that National Guard training is not adequate from a military standpoint it becomes clear that the Legion is telling the truth when it says it wants "a bill enacting the principle" of compulsory military training. The establishment of the compulsory principle for its own sake would be a first step down the road to dictatorship.

Draft of Labor

The Legion's plan to use conscripts in industry is not only the introduction of military control into the field of labor and industry, but it is probably a forerunner of more extensive plans for a draft of both labor and industry in the event of another war. Another implication of the use of conscripts in industry can be seen from the statement of a prominent Legionnaire, Gen. Hanford MacNider, who helped formulate the Legion's military training program at its most recent convention. When General MacNider was Assistant Secretary of War he explained to the National Association of Manufacturers that the Munitions Battalion (of R.O.T.C.) would be successful "if we have taught him to think correctly about this business of ours . . ." He said further, "He will never forget what we have given him, if we have made him think. He will always think of industry in relation to the Army's problems, just as he will think what he can do for the Army if that problem is ever thrown up before him again. At the end of ten years, we will have 4,000 young veterans of the Munitions Battalion out in the industrial world."[2]

The cost of the Legion's program would be great. Estimates of two to four billion dollars a year for military training in Regular Army camps would probably have to be increased because the Legion plan contemplates huge additional expenditures. The Army would have to maintain camp facilities and staff all year, even if used only during the summer. There would have to be a tremendous increase in National Guard facilities plus a complete layout of staff and equipment at each college which provided training. The expense of duplicating three or four military administrations—R.O.T.C., National Guard, Industrial, and Regular Army—would add more billions to the vast sums required for the Regular Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and for government scientific research.

The Legion's leadership fails to recognize that its plan does not provide a defense against atomic attack but that its adoption would provide an excuse for other nations to join in the armaments race. We already have the world's largest navy and air force, the world's greatest industrial potential and financial ability, and the atom bomb. If on top of that we begin a system of mass conscription, the rest of the world will know we are preparing for war.

The alternative to conscription followed by an arms race and war is to get rid of conscription and armaments everywhere. The United States can take the lead if it will reject all forms of compulsory military training and pass instead legislation which seeks the world-wide abolition of conscription and armaments. Senator M. R. Tydings has introduced a resolution seeking complete disarmament for all nations. Senator Clyde Hoey and Representatives Joseph Martin, Matthew Neely, and Jerry Voorhis have introduced resolutions calling for the international abolition of conscription. The abolition of conscription is a realistic political possibility.

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[2] Address of Colonel Hanford MacNider before the National Association of Manufacturers, Astor Hotel, New York, October 7, 1926.

The Origins of Civilian Public Service

By PHILIP E. JACOB*

WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE for the setting up the Civilian Public Service program? Who decided the specific conditions under which conscientious objectors would perform the "work of national importance" required of them under the Selective Service Act?

Divergent and often conflicting answers have been given to these questions which concern not only the men in CPS but all those who see in the treatment of the conscientious objector a test of religious freedom and the vitality of democratic principles. A review of the negotiations during the fall of 1940 between government officials and representatives of the churches most immediately affected by the drafting of CO's furnishes the basis for an answer.

The problem of the government attitude toward conscientious objectors, if conscription should materialize, concerned the Historic Peace Churches as developments in Europe and Asia pointed to the possibility that the United States might be involved in the war which had broken out in September, 1939. On January 10, 1940, a delegation waited on President Roosevelt. In the communication which they left with him they briefly called attention to the difficulties that had arisen during World War I because this problem had not been thought through in advance. "Since," they said, "we understand that plans are now being formulated for mobilization of the nation's manpower if war should come, and since the need for dealing with conscientious objectors would again emerge to confront government agencies, we venture to suggest the advantage of advance discussion of the problem with the appropriate officials."

Following the passage of the Selective Training and Service Act, September 16, 1940, representatives of the Brethren, Friends, Mennonites, and Methodists suggested to government officials the desirability of establishing a separate civilian agency of the government to handle the work of CO's. This recommendation was not accepted, but the Historic Peace Churches were asked by the Selective Service System to indicate what responsibilities they would assume in regard to alternative service. The National Council for Religious Conscientious Objectors representing these and other churches, then submitted a detailed plan proposing that CO's be permitted to perform a variety of services under either the government or private agencies. The government, it was suggested, should provide the cost of maintenance, and in the case of men working directly under the government, wages approximating the rate for other drafted men.

This plan was substantially approved by Dr. Clarence Dykstra, Director of Selective Service. The American Friends Service Committee, Brethren Service Committee, and Mennonite Central Committee promptly said they were ready to co-operate as private agencies in this program.

President Roosevelt, however, turned down the proposal. After further negotiations, Dr. Dykstra decided that only one pattern of service should be established—administered either by the government or by private agencies, but not by both. He indicated that the agencies would probably have to furnish the entire financial support if they were to secure administrative responsibility. In either case CO's would not be paid wages.

Because there appeared to be no better alternative under the circumstances, many CO's having already declared that they definitely wanted to serve under religious agencies, the Historic Peace Churches decided to attempt administration of the program on an experimental basis.

No stenographic record was kept of the conferences between the representatives of religious bodies and government officials. But minutes, memoranda, and letters which are on file, and the daily journals kept by certain of the participants in the discussions, clearly document the sequence of events.

1. The Fight for Legal Recognition of the CO

Prior to the passage of the Selective Service Act, many church bodies and other agencies made a vigorous attempt to defeat the entire conscription measure. When it became evident that they would not be successful, they pressed for special provisions on behalf of conscientious objectors, including both an opportunity for complete exemption from service as in Great Britain, and the recognition of alternative civilian services which could be performed. A careful first-hand account of these efforts is given by E. Raymond Wilson in a bulletin issued by the Peace Section of the AFSC.

The act as passed failed, of course, to allow complete exemption, but in Section 5(g) it did authorize the assignment of CO's who were opposed to any form of military service, to "work of national importance under civilian direction."

2. Churches Propose Civilian Administration

How was this provision to be administered, and by whom? The Act did not say, simply leaving this question to be settled by the President, along with all other matters connected with putting Selective Service into operation.

Within a few days after passage of the Act, representatives of the Friends, Brethren, Mennonites, and Methodists approached the President's Advisory Committee on Selective Service[1] with the suggestion that a special civilian agency of the government be established to handle the work of CO's. The committee decided, however, to make no recommendation on this matter, pending the appointment of a permanent director of Selective Service and further information in regard to the number of CO's likely to register.[2]

3. Churches Asked to Take Responsibility

On September 30, Lt. Col. Lewis B. Hershey, attached to Selective Service headquarters, asked Paul Comly French,

* Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania. During the war he was Associate Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, in charge of fund raising for CPS.

1 This Committee, of which Frederick Osborne was chairman and Elbridge Sibley secretary, was responsible for advising the President and Director of Selective Service in regard to implementing the Selective Service Act.

2 Cf. Personal diaries of Paul Comly French and Clarence E. Pickett.

representing the Friends War Problems Committee, to inquire whether the Historic Peace Churches would undertake to care for all CO's who selected alternative service. On October 15, Hershey pressed for an early answer from the church agencies, as to what responsibilities they would be willing to assume for the service of CO's. He suggested that they prepare concrete proposals for the consideration of Selective Service.

4. Churches Propose Service Under Both Government and Private Agencies

On October 5, in Chicago, representatives of the Historic Peace Churches and others, organized the National Council for Religious Conscientious Objectors to facilitate and co-ordinate their efforts in regard to the CO.

On October 7, the Board of Directors of the American Friends Service Committee set forth conditions under which the Committee would be willing to take administrative responsibility for the service of CO's. These included provisions for the AFSC to retain the status of "an independent private agency . . . not under the control of the Selective Service Administration"; for the AFSC to receive payments from the government for the maintenance of the men assigned to it; for the government to settle the question of compensation (i.e., wages) with each individual CO; and for the AFSC to share the responsibility of administering the service of CO's with other religious denominations or other agencies.

The Brethren Service Committee recognized three types of alternative service as acceptable for the Church of the Brethren: (1) government controlled units similar to CCC camps where the government would carry the whole cost for maintenance and work and the church would furnish spiritual and recreational service; (2) "co-operatively controlled" units where the church would be responsible for camp administration, but the government would be in charge of the work and pay the total cost of maintenance; (3) privately controlled units for CO's who expressed a preference to work under private agencies and who were individually acceptable by the BSC. The church would pay all costs in these latter units. The BSC proposed that in the first two types, men should receive pay as well as maintenance from the government. Under the third type there would be no pay.

The Mennonite Central Committee undertook to represent all Mennonite CO's and to provide directly for the service of the majority of them under plans to be approved and supervised by the National Council for Religious CO's. The Mennonite Committee proposed that the main projects for Mennonites be agricultural with the government furnishing subsistence, housing, equipment, and technical direction, and the MCC responsible for administration, discipline, and education. They suggested that the question of pay over and above subsistence should be considered after further experience, and that the possibility of projects fully supported by one or more of the private agencies might be given further study.

By October 22, a detailed proposal for the administration of "work of national importance" had been prepared by the National Council for Religious CO's, for presentation to the President's Advisory Committee (see above). In substance, the proposal provided for: (1) work in conjunction with governmental agencies, with the government paying maintenance and wages for the men; (2) work under the direct control of private agencies which would pay all costs, but would assume responsibility only for those CO's who expressed a preference to work under a private agency, and who were acceptable to that agency.

The main features of this proposal were submitted to the President's Advisory Committee in a memorandum to Mr. Elbridge Sibley, October 24. This memorandum was also submitted on November 7 to Dr. Clarence Dykstra, appointed Director of Selective Service.

5. Three-Fold Program of Service Approved

On October 29 the President's Advisory Committee recommended to Dr. Dykstra a three-fold program of service for CO's, substantially in line with the suggestions previously made by the representatives of the Historic Peace Churches. CO's would have the choice of the following types of service:

> "Type I—work directly under governmental agencies, fully financed by the Government agency involved, and mainly for technically trained persons.
>
> "Type II—Camps in conjunction with various governmental agencies, but under the administration of the BSC, the MCC, and/or the AFSC. The government will finance tools, shelter, and food in these units, and provide regular soldier's compensation; while the agency directing the camp will finance the camp director, educational director, nurse, and dietitian. . . .
>
> "Type III—Camps operated by various religious groups, which have been approved by the Director of Selective Service as work of national importance, and under the financial responsibility of the administering agency. The Government will provide tools and equipment, if the agency desires, and will expect periodic reports . . . They will likewise conduct inspections of projects." [3]

Tentative agreement on the above program was reached in a conference on November 14 between Dr. Dykstra, Colonel Hershey, and Major Guiton Morgan of Selective Service, with Paul Comly French representing the National Council for Religious CO's. On November 25 the National Council confirmed acceptance of the program, following action by the historic peace church agencies committing themselves to assume the responsibilities involved for private agencies.[4]

6. The President Objects

On November 29, Dr. Dykstra conferred with President Roosevelt regarding the proposed program for conscientious objectors. He reported to the National Council for Religious CO's that the President expressed "instant and aggressive opposition to the plan." He quoted the President as saying the boys should not even be sent to CCC camps, because that would be too easy for them. The President proposed that an Army officer drill them.

7. All-or-None Alternative Presented to Churches

At the invitation of Dr. Dykstra, representatives of the religious agencies met on December 5 with Selective Service officials and Lowell Mellett, one of the President's confidential secretaries, to discuss a possible solution to the problem of handling CO's which might be satisfactory to the President. At this time Dr. Dykstra asked whether the

[3] Quoted from Minutes of the Board of Directors, AFSC, November 18, 1940.

[4] Cf. diary of Paul C. French; Minutes of the National Council, Nov. 25, 1940; BSC, Oct. 21, 1940, and AFSC Board of Directors, Nov. 18, 1940.

church agencies would be willing to administer all projects for conscientious objectors and pay the entire cost except transportation. The only alternative he indicated, would be for him to request a specific appropriation by Congress to cover maintenance costs for CO's. He anticipated that such action would lead to complete government administration, with no opportunity for any CO's to serve under religious agencies. After careful investigation, he was convinced that none of the funds already appropriated for Selective Service operations could legally be used to finance either maintenance costs or wages for the services of CO's. In view of the President's attitude he was sure that the possibility of providing wages for the men was completely out of the question.

The churches were confronted with a problem as serious as it was unexpected. Up to this point they had assumed that there would be a variety of alternatives and that the government would carry the main financial responsibility, including maintenance and pay for all CO's except a modest number who might want to work completely under religious auspices and would be unwilling to accept government support. Now the choice was—either all CO's would be obliged to work without pay on projects completely government-administered, or the churches would have to shoulder the financial and administrative responsibility for the entire group. The possibility of parallel programs—government and church-administered—was ruled out.

A special session of the Standing Committee of the Church of the Brethren was called to consider the implications of President Roosevelt's attitude and the uncertainty of securing any financial aid from the government. Although recognizing that a large amount of money might be required, the Committee voted "to assume financial responsibility for training our young men, with or without government aid . . . in projects of national importance under civilian control which are in harmony with our convictions regarding military training and service." Similar action was taken by the Mennonites. Earnest consultation also took place among the Friends, Mennonites, and other concerned groups.

8. Decision

On December 10 the National Service Board for Religious Objectors (formerly the National Council for Religious CO's) with representatives of the Historic Peace Churches and of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in attendance, reached agreement on administering and financing work of national importance for all CO's on an experimental basis within the limits of financial ability. On the same day, the group met with Dr. Dykstra and told him of their decision.

Dr. Dykstra cleared the proposal with various cabinet officers and the Director of the Budget, and discussed it with Mrs. Roosevelt.

On December 19, after returning from a cruise, President Roosevelt approved the new arrangement.

Next day, the National Service Board for Religious Objectors and Dr. Dykstra exchanged letters formally acknowledging their mutual agreement.

Conclusions

The following conclusions emerge from this survey:

1. The original proposals of the Historic Peace Churches to the government in regard to the alternative service of CO's called for parallel programs, one under government control, with the government paying maintenance and wages to the men; the other under the control of private agencies which would pay maintenance but no wages for men who preferred to work with them and were acceptable to them.

2. This basic pattern was at first accepted by government officials, then turned down by President Roosevelt.

3. Selective Service officials then indicated that either the government or the religious agencies would have to assume the total financial and administrative responsibility for the service of all CO's, regardless of affiliation, and that wages would not be provided.

4. Under these unsatisfactory circumstances, the religious agencies decided that of the two alternatives a program under private administration would meet the wishes of the largest number of CO's and should be attempted.

The Creation in Reverse

By FRANCES V. C. HITCHCOCK*

AND THE EARTH had been beautiful and light shone upon it, but the spirit of man moved upon the earth and man's darkness grew and increased and man saw that it was growing darker and he was pleased, and it was the seventh day before the end.

And man said: "Let us have power in the earth." So man divided nation against nation and man made one nation to war against another nation and it was so. And man called this "civilization," and this was now the sixth day before the end.

And man said: "Let us gather together our resources into one place and let us bring forth more tanks and more guns and more ships." And it was so. And man saw his power increase and it was now the fifth day before the end.

And man said: "Let us name the great nations to be our 'security,' and let us call the lesser ones 'secure'." And man was pleased with this. And it was now the fourth day before the end.

And man said, "Let our 'security' bring forth abundantly, more cars after their kind and more radios after their kind, more ships after their kind, more of everything after its kind." And man was pleased with this abundance of things.

And man ordered that the number of all these things be increased a thousand fold. And it was now the third day before the end.

And man said, "Let us continue to smash the atom, that more and more power shall be ours. We shall increase our abundance of things and shall quickly destroy those who oppose us." And man continued his experiment with the atom and was pleased. And it was now the second day before the end.

And on the last day there was a great noise upon the face of the earth. And there was no more man to be pleased and rejoice in his works.

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* Presbyterian missionary to Colombia, South America. From *Colombian Clippings.*

Allies Arrested Niemoeller to Silence Aid Plea, Says Senator

Because Martin Niemoeller expressed the intention of appealing to his fellow Christians in Switzerland and America for help for starving Germany, he was re-arrested and confined by Allied forces a few days after his liberation from concentration camp, declared Senator Capehart during a Senate discussion last month of hunger in Europe. Responsibility for this "unheard-of cruelty" Senator Capehart laid at the door of a "confidential and conspiratorial clique" in the American government, whose purpose, he charged, is to "draw and quarter a nation now reduced to abject misery."

Members of this "clique," explained the Senator, learned of Niemoeller's intention at a dinner given for the liberated clergyman by General Alexander a few days after his release. Senator Capehart's statement, as recorded in the *Congressional Record* of February 5, continues:

"The moment this fact became known Pastor Niemoeller was arrested, and on the very next day following his dinner with General Alexander was returned to a concentration camp. His spirit still unbroken by this unheard-of cruelty inflicted on him moved him to go on a hunger strike. In order to escape a scandal this same clique had him removed from the concentration camp but took every other possible means of strangling any word from his mouth that might reach America."

Treatment Changed Abruptly

That treatment of Niemoeller by Allied forces changed abruptly from acclaim to a form of persecution is a matter of record. Niemoeller himself, according to the Rev. Ewart Edmund Turner, former pastor of the American church in Berlin and post-war visitor with Niemoeller for a month, was puzzled by the reason for the change. According to Mr. Turner, who now is pastor of the First Methodist Church at New Hartford, N. Y., Niemoeller was promised a plane by General Eisenhower so that he might fly to Frankfurt-am-Main to rejoin his family. Instead the plane landed in France, and even after the heroic resister of Nazism reached Frankfurt he was restrained from communicating with his family for six weeks, and was released only after a three-day hunger strike.

Mr. Turner, who returned this January from assignment to Germany as a correspondent for Religious News Service, points out that the "Morgenthau group," who demand a "hard peace," fear Niemoeller and have made deliberate attempts to "smear" him before the American public. He tells the story of a meeting held at the Park Avenue home of "one of New York's prominent so-called liberal writers," at which the question was asked: "Who is the most dangerous German apart from Hitler?" The answer was: "Niemoeller, because he is apt to induce a world sympathy for Germany which will prevent a 'hard peace.'"

Personnel Sought for AFSC Relief Work

With permission already granted the American Friends Service Committee to send supplies of food and clothing into the British zone of Germany and into Austria, there is urgent need for securing personnel to carry on this relief program. One unit of workers left for Austria last month and other personnel will go to the French and British sections of Germany—and possibly to the American—within a short time. Applications are being welcomed by the AFSC from persons who wish to share in this opportunity for service and who have had training or experience in social service, child care, dietetics, business management, administration and with some knowledge of the German language. For information write: Personnel Office, American Friends Service Committee, 20 South Twelfth St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.

CPS 23 Per Cent Demobilized Feb. 1

NSBRO has announced that 2,351, or about 23 per cent of the men in CPS, had been demobilized as of February 1, 1946. Under plans as announced to date, there will still be approximately 3,000 men in CPS on June 30. However, there seems to be considerable chance that the Act will be allowed to expire on May 15, in which case men will be processed out of camps and units as rapidly as possible. NSBRO pointed out that one-fifth of the men discharged are in need of financial help, the average amount needed by each man being $75. Provision is being made for student grants in aid, the AFSC having set aside $30,000 for such aid during 1946.

Inductions into CPS are low—75 per cent of them coming from the Mennonite group. The closing months of 1945 saw only about 40 men going into CPS each month, and indications are that this will go below 30 for 1946.

Help! Help!!

The editor of *Fellowship,* just back from his own private war, needs a secretary—immediately and badly! Any applicants?

New Members Elected to FOR National Council

The following persons were elected by ballot to membership on the FOR National Council for terms of two years:

Roswell P. Barnes, Allan Knight Chalmers, Phillips P. Elliott, Gordon Hirabayashi, Allan A. Hunter, E. Stanley Jones, Rufus D. Jones, Kirby Page, Douglas V. Steere, Arthur L. Swift, Jr., Howard Thurman, Theodore D. Walser, Dan L. West, Dewitte Wyckoff.

Previously, the following members had been co-opted by the Council:

Mrs. B. Wallace Hamilton, Mrs. Alfred Hassler, Isidor B. Hoffman, Prentice Thomas.

Under the new plan, by which the various regions directly elect representatives to the Council in addition to those who may be chosen by ballot, the following persons also took office January 1, 1946 for terms of two years:

Harris Erickson, Northwest; Harold E. Fey, Midwest; Erna P. Harris. Southwest; Albert J. Livezey, Midwest; Charles R. Lawrence, Jr., South; Joseph Moody, Southwest; George L. Paine, New England; Henry Lee Robison, Jr., South; Paul Roberts, Rocky Mountain; Mark R. Shaw, New England; Norman J. Whitney, Middle Atlantic; Mrs. Dean R. Wickes, Middle Atlantic.

Members who belong to any of the denominational fellowships will be interested to note their representatives on the National Council from the list below:

Gustave J. Bischof, New Church; James A. Crain, Disciples; Donald Harrington, Unitarian; Homer A. Jack, Unitarian; Gordon E. Lahrson, Baptist; Harold L. Lunger, Disciples; Ralph N. Mould, Presbyterian; Trevor Sandness, Lutheran; Ronald Wells, Baptist.

U. S. Reestablishes Extraterritoriality

General Douglas MacArthur last month issued a decree re-establishing extra-territorial rights in Japan, thus thrusting upon the Japanese an indignity they have not suffered for 47 years. Under MacArthur's order, "United Nations nationals and institutions, including corporations" and the Japanese concerned in such cases will be tried under the United Nations Military Commission's Provost Courts.

Treaties outlawing distinctions between Japanese criminals and those of foreign nationality were signed in 1899. The Allied Commander's recent memorandum to the Japanese Government wipes out the progress achieved during the preceding century by removing nationals of the Allies from the jurisdiction of Japanese criminal courts.

24 Peace Agencies Agree to Pool Efforts in Anti-War Drive

A long step in the direction of united pacifist action was taken when representatives of more than twenty peace agencies agreed last month to launch jointly a Service Agency and a Consultative Council through which to pool their efforts in reaching the American public.

Delegates from the twenty-four organizations met at a conference held in Atlantic City February 12-14. The Consultative Council they brought into being is described as "an agency for consultation among national pacifist organizations and other national bodies or groups which wish to be associated and which are accepted by common consent of the CPC." The Council will not have power to make policy for constituent organizations, but its members will meet regularly for the purpose of clearing on activities carried on by the various bodies, analyzing developments on the national and international scene with which they are confronted, and discussing the most effective ways of dealing with such developments.

The Service Agency will be supported by contributions of the participating agencies and will not raise funds or recruit members on its own. Its functions the conference described as:

(1) Publication of a *Washington Information Letter* to keep readers informed of developments in Congress, government administrative agencies, international organizations such as UNO, and similar matters of interest to the member groups and their constituents.

(2) A *clip sheet* to be made available to editors of newspapers, and the publications of labor, rural, church, co-operative and other such groups.

(3) *Publicity Service,* to give professional service to the various member organizations in presenting their programs.

(4) *Research,* both of a "spot" character and long-range research.

A tentative budget of $50,000 to $60,000 per year will be needed to carry on all or a considerable number of the proposed projects, and the participating bodies agreed that the object should be to have the Service Agency set up and functioning by September 1, 1946. Provisional officers of the Consultative Peace Council are: Chairman, M. R. Zigler of the Brethren Service Committee; Vice-chairman, Dorothy Detzer, Women's International League; Secretary, A. J. Muste, Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Tentative plans have been made to hold the Fall Conference of the FOR on the weekend following Labor Day at some point in Ohio.

FOR Member Wins Tolerance Award

The Rev. Lawrence Scott, director of an FOR Institute on Human Relations in Kansas City, has been presented with the annual Dr. Julius H. Rabin Interfaith and Interracial Memorial award, made to the individual "who has contributed most toward furthering better understanding and relations among the various religious and racial groups" in that city. Mr. Scott, an active worker in the Fellowship and member of the Midwest Committee, directed institutes of this kind in 1944 and 1945. He was selected for the 1945 award by a committee of eight members from Kansas City civic and religious groups, themselves representing the interfaith and interracial character of the award.

FOR-WRL Conference

A joint meeting of the National Council of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Executive Committee of the War Resisters League, and delegates elected at various local conferences was held in New York February 22-23, to discuss the general question, "How to Prevent a Third World War." The larger subject was broken down into the following areas: (1) Armaments—How to stop an arms race and promote disarmament? (2) World Government—National Sovereignty—UNO; (3) Power Politics—Imperialism; (4) Atomic Energy—Economic Field; (5) Freedoms; (6) Attitudes and Opinions; (7) What distinctive contributions can *pacifists* make? The United States meeting was held as part of the simultaneous conferences of the War Resisters' International, similar meetings having been held in other countries of the world.

Conscription Hearings

Hearings on the proposed military conscription legislation were resumed Monday, February 18, and were to continue for four days. If the schedule is carried out as planned the legislation would be voted on by the House on March 4. Persons opposed to military training legislation should do everything possible to urge congressmen and members of the Military Affairs Committee *not to report out of committee any legislation on conscription* until a vote has been taken on the Martin Bill proposing International Abolition of Conscription.

Jottings

On his recent visit to the United States, Rhys Davies, outspoken pacifist Member of Parliament, declared that he "resented leaders who made wars and sent young men to fight them, especially because the young men were never told the true reasons for fighting." When World War II was looming on the horizon, Mr. Davies waged a fight in the House of Commons to have the truth brought out "that Britain was not fighting for Poland, but to keep a favorable balance of power in Europe." He recalled having heard Mr. Churchill say that he was 'glad that Hitler and Mussolini have arrived in Europe,' since they would keep Russia back of her line.

The Methodist Commission on World Peace has announced its intention of withdrawing from the administration of Civilian Public Service as of May 31. The Methodists are the fourth church group to withdraw their support from CPS—the American Friends Service Committee and the Baptists having announced withdrawal as of March 2, 1946, and the Association of Catholic Conscientious Objectors on October 30, 1945. Methodist action was based on a poll of their men in CPS, with the following result at our publication time: for withdrawal 342; for remaining in CPS, 51.

Among the many letters that have gone to President Truman and Attorney General Clark urging amnesty is that sent by the Lewisburg Council of Churches, Lewisburg, Pa., site of the U. S. Northeastern Penitentiary where many war objectors have served their terms. "We sincerely hope," the churchmen's letter said, "that you issue at the earliest possible date a grant of amnesty under which the prisoners for conscience' sake may be released from the prisons."

Last year the Conchie outfit (Camp Operations Division team) in the Selective Service bowling league was so far in the lead the others made them divide into two teams. This year Conchie I and Conchie II placed first and second. —*The Reporter,* Dec. 15.

Canada FOR Growing

Canadian members and friends of the FOR traveled many miles to attend meetings held by Albert G. Watson, Executive Secretary, during his early winter visit to the more isolated sections of the West. Mr. Watson felt that the trip, first of its kind attempted in the West, "did much to deepen the sense of fellowship" and made the FOR meaningful to a large number of people.

IFOR Meeting to Draw Delegates from 10 Nations

When delegates from ten or more countries meet in Stockholm, Sweden, March 24-31, it will be the first meeting of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation Council since 1938. John Nevin Sayre, International Chairman, who is spending three months in Europe visiting FOR members and groups, will preside at the Stockholm meeting, and the United States will be officially represented by Norman Whitney, Harold Chance and Ernest Lefever. It is expected that Bishop Enrique C. Balloch, Miss Isabel Reincke, and the Rev. Mr. Baathe will attend from South America. Of the countries in Europe, it is hoped that Fellowship groups in England, France, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, Norway and Switzerland will be able to send delegations.

Dr. Siegmund-Schultze of Switzerland, Chairman of the Executive, announced that plans were being made for an enlarged meeting at this year's Council in order to "draw together both those who originated the work of the International Fellowship in a number of countries and also some of those to whom we may look especially on the Continent to renew its activity and enter into fresh opportunities."

The first International conference was held in 1919 at Bilthoven, Holland; the 1938 meeting also took place in Holland, at Lunteren, with an attendance of some 200 people from eighteen countries.

Wills to Do FOR Work In Latin America

Herman and Margarita Will have been employed as traveling secretaries for Latin America by the International FOR. Early in the fall they will leave the United States for a two-year trip through Central America, Mexico and South America, setting up Fellowship groups and co-ordinating their South American work with that of J. Antonio Loureiro, Executive Secretary for that continent.

Before being drafted into CPS, Herman Will was Midwest Secretary for the FOR. He was sent to the Trenton CPS camp and later went to Puerto Rico to become director of the Castañer Unit.

South America has many new Fellowship groups, organized by Señor Loureiro, who has returned to Montevideo, Uruguay, after spending several months traveling through Argentina, Chile, Bolivia and Peru. Through his participation in conferences and his speaking engagements before large groups in the churches, schools, colleges, YMCA's and civic clubs of South America, thousands have heard the FOR message and many new members and friends have been won.

Norway Peace Move

From Edwin Listor in Oslo, Norway, news has come of a meeting of representatives from seven peace organizations to form a national council for the peace movement in Norway. The first meeting of the group was appropriately held in the Nobel House in Oslo.

Letters from Germany

"All through the long years of this cruel war my thoughts have been with you very often, and your last lines of August 1939 were ringing in my heart: 'If separation is to come, we at least must keep peace.' Dear friends, I know those were not mere words—so I dare to write to you. . . . I am living in the Russian area and am very sorry that we are somewhat cut off from the West. I have suffered much during the war; was in a concentration camp at the beginning of the war, lost my mother in 1941, my nice home, my father in a night in March 1945 when hell seemed to have opened its gates. . . . Yet in spite of all, my strength is unbroken and I try to make a new start, though my heart is very sad just now watching the emigration of thousands of 'Sudentendeutschen.' They are starving here in Chemitz on their way to the north. When will mankind learn the way of 'Reconciliation'?"

—Marie Pleissner,
Chemitz, Saxony.

"Do you remember that in August 1939, when we realized that the impending catastrophe would be unavoidable, you sent off a short note at random to a few German friends. You spoke in it of the spirit of fellowship in which we had lived for peace, and that in the years of darkness that were to lie ahead of us 'we shall maintain our confidence in one another as standing for the greatest truths of the New Testament.' I wish to tell you now how deep an impression your letter made on myself and my friends, how it has sustained me during the years of loneliness, how I kept it in a safe place in the shelter of our house, reading it again and again during the worst raids. I would like you to know that your letter has helped beyond words to prevent us from ever losing faith and confidence, and that the thought of taking up the common tasks again whenever the moment came for fresh efforts gave us strength to bear whatever came with a buoyant heart and a serene spirit."

—Asta Brugelmann,
Bad Godesberg.

European FOR Groups Survived War Years

Writing from Petzen, Germany, an IFOR friend told of his visit with Wilhelm Mensching, leader of the German Fellowship and one of the few pastors who refused to take the oath of loyalty. The letter told how Pastor Mensching was watched closely by the Gestapo, and that proceedings were begun against him several times but, the visitor said, the Pastor had so completely put his Christian pacifist beliefs and methods into practice that he had won the love and respect of his neighbors—even the local Nazi officials and police. The latter always managed to transfer the Gestapo papers accusing Mensching to themselves and in that way saved the Pastor. Arrangements have been made for Greta Sumpf to take over much of the German FOR work, thus allowing Pastor Mensching time for writing new books for Germany, a task he feels to be most urgent in any effort to build Germany's future.

* * *

In Helsinki, Finland, the Fellowship group has been meeting periodically throughout the wâr in the home of Selma Rikberg. In spite of the limitations suffered as a result of war's destruction, Finnish members individually have worked against the propagation of nationalistic sentiments and hostility toward prisoners of war, and they have helped to support a home for aged evacuated Russian women.

* * *

Kaspar Mayr, a former Assistant Secretary of the IFOR, wrote from Vienna that the work of the International Fellowship was more needed than ever before. "One concrete task," he wrote, "is to organize a bigger *economic* unit in southeastern Europe . . . Economic co-operation on a greater scale would automatically diminish the importance of the *political* frontiers and even of political theories."

* * *

Peace organizations in Denmark, including the FOR, WIL, War Resisters' International, Friends and certain church peace bodies, have united for the purpose of carrying out a relief program in Europe. Known as the Pacifist Relief Service, this co-ordinated group has already begun work in Finmark and hopes that an opportunity will open soon to carry the relief work into Germany.

* * *

Fellowship friends of Frau Elsa Jensen were glad to hear recently that she is alive and still living in Berlin with her two remaining children. Heinz, her only son, was killed in 1943 on the Russian front, and Erica, a doctor, was killed by a bomb which completely demolished her children's hospital.

The Peacemaker's Bookshelf

Puerto Rican Paradox

Dynamite on Our Doorstep. By Wenzell Brown. Greenberg, 1945. 301 pp. $2.75.

Dynamite on Our Doorstep, called also the "Puerto Rican Paradox," apparently is even more the paradox of the author, Wenzell Brown. The second part of the book, written after the writer had been to China and returned for a check-up visit to the Island, is markedly different in emphasis and flavor from the account of his first visit. But the difficulty for the casual reader is that the first part already has made the impression.

Having been in Puerto Rico myself, and knowing the places about which he writes with all the disgust of the old style muckraker—Skid Row, La Perla, El Fanquito, the sordid side of Ponce orMayaquez—I can take his facts, such as they are, as a part of a picture of which I know more of the whole. The Puerto Rican scene has more light and shade in it than the author seems to recall.

One tries to remember, in excuse, that the first part of the book is long-range reminiscence. One cannot help but feel sorry for the acids of unhappiness and frustration, even fear at times, that ate a horror design into the author's memory. But also one feels a bit sorry for the reader who may feel that here he is getting the "straight dope" on Puerto Rico. One should read this first section keeping in mind that Mr. Brown is remembering things already a bit dim in time and experience; keeping in mind also that these were the reactions of a young man on his first job in a strange land. He was not used to teaching. His account of those first fumbling, inept attempts to get ideas across to a group of children is pathetic. He could not be expected to feel at ease or successful.

It is probable also that he strove to get a touch of *Forever Amber* into his historical account. In a contemporary cartoon, the publisher says to the young author, "This is a good historical novel but where is your hussy?" From a bookseller's standpoint, hussies sell books. There is a "hussy" in the Puerto Rican scene. Far from denying that, I strongly assert it. Some of the sordid parts of Puerto Rico cannot be exaggerated. They must be seen to be believed. But Puerto Rico is not this picture of complete degradation and despair.

A Second Look

But the author's second visit was markedly different. If you are already too mad at the inaccurate, because unbalanced, impression the first part of the book has given you, you will not be able to catch now the notes that give some of us hope that Puerto Rico has a chance. The author found a "dignity" among the Jibaro he had missed before. There is an intelligence about her problems which may have been there before but which he had not seen.

There are some holdovers of his first impressions. An anti-American attitude, for example, still lies as a distinct trace in his emotions. To him the word *Americano* is an invective. Maybe I missed the bitterness that he claims in the use of the word, but to be an *Americano* can be descriptive instead of an excoriation. I was warned against going down into La Perla slum by an American sailor who told me he always took out a clasp knife and carried it openly in his hand when he passed Puerto Rican boys on the street. "All *Americanos* are hated," he said. When I went down into the heart of that slum which defies description, I carried no knife. I too was called *Americano.* Puerto Rican men gathered around, staring at this stranger in their midst. But they smiled when I smiled, and were not unfriendly. This is not to say there is no bitterness against the Americans. You cannot have colonialism without bitterness. Think, however, how equally false to the political picture in America it would be, if we should take a Helen Hokinson matron's hissing of Roosevelt in the newsreel theatre as the truth about the late President Roosevelt's popularity among the voters of the country. The facts of his popularity are otherwise.

Skid Row and La Perla are to Puerto Rico as the "Cribs" of New Orleans or the Hell's Kitchens of New York are to any American city. While they should never be tolerated as inevitable, neither should they be made the whole "description of the elephant."

Puerto Rico is also: "He has given me dignity, Señor," which was the reply of a street peddler when Brown asked this humble man why he voted for Munoz-Marin. Puerto Rico not only is our exploitation through nearly half a century, but is PRRA, and our government's helping hand through the last decade, and Tugwell's answer to Brown's question: "They need competence and skill among their leaders and concentration on an agreed program." Certainly recent visitors to Puerto Rico get the impression that these are things Puerto Rico is now in process of achieving.

The author moves toward his own final judgment. "Yet out of this welter of hate and violence, of compassion and beauty, a new pattern of life is beginning to emerge." "If such (this new pattern) can be done amidst the poverty of Puerto Rico, the Island will have pointed out a way of life that the world will do well to examine." This is the last sentence of the book. I wish it could have been stated in the beginning so that the casual reader might have had a frame of reference in which to put the details.

ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS.

Other Recent Books

Sons of the Morning. By Otto Schrag. Doubleday, Doran, 1945. 350 pp. $2.75. A sometimes moving, often funny novel of the problems of readjustment in a small town faced by two veterans returned from combat and a conscientious objector returned from prison.

God Is Not Dead. By Bernard Iddings Bell. Harper, 1945. 185 pp. $1.50. A statement of faith for "people who don't go to church" that manages also to say some needed things about the church and the present crisis. There will be many a nod of agreement over such chapters as "Church Worship Leaves Me Cold"; "The Church and the Workers"; and "The Church and the Church."

Let's Talk About the Peace. By Henry G. Alsberg. Hastings House, 1945. 324 pp. $2.75. Some trenchant observations about the inadequacy of the UNO as a means of preserving world peace, and the author's suggestions for a genuinely democratic world order responsive to the people. Though more sensitive than most to the dangers in a world "police" force, the author tries only to make his "police" look a little less like an army than it really would be.

To Whom Palestine. By Frank Gervasi. Appleton-Century, 1946. 212 pp. $2.50. The well-known correspondent has done a competent job of providing background material, as well as recent developments, on this explosive issue. He confesses to having gone to Palestine "pro-Arab," but came back pro-Zionist.

A Christian Global Strategy. By Walter W. Van Kirk. Willett, Clark, 1945. 197 pp. $2.00. The Federal Council's peace executive feels that civilization is doomed unless the Christian church "once again" comes to the rescue, but that it cannot rescue except on a global, united scale. This is his program for such an effort.

Above All Nations. Compiled by George Catlin, Vera Brittain, and Sheila Hodges. Victor Gollancz, Ltd., London, 1945. 88 pp. $.75. Acts of kindness done to enemies, in the present war, by men of many nations; the story of humanity triumphant over hatred. An effective counter-irritant to still-too-prevalent propaganda.

Socialism from Where We Are. By Hiram Elfenbein. Samson Press, 1945. 224 pp. Paper, $1.50. Why socialism has failed and how it can succeed in the future. Norman Thomas has written an introduction praising the author's analysis and urging widespread consideration of the questions raised.

Pro and Con

A PAGE OF COMMENT BY READERS

Readers are invited to contribute to this page. Please keep letters brief, since space is severely limited.

On "Labor Trouble"

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In his article "Why Labor Trouble Now," George Houser, in January *Fellowship,* makes a very positive statement "that labor has an indisputable case to back up its demand for a 25% to 30% wage increase."

The National Industrial Conference Board, in the pamphlet "Wages During the Transition Period," shows that basic straight time hourly rates from 1941 to 1944 increased 36.7% vs. a rise in the cost of living of "approximately 30%." Most of us in business can verify this rise in basic straight time rates. "Average weekly earnings rose 72.8%." These figures mean that the cost of the war has been borne by a reduction in the standard of living of white collar workers, those who live on fixed dollar incomes, and in the return to investors, and not by the wage workers.

The pamphlet further shows what I think is thoroughly attested elsewhere: that despite very large earnings in a few new wartime industries, the after-taxes income of corporations was 3.9% of sales in 1943 as compared with 5.4% in 1941 and 4.5% in 1939, with the exception of the new industries. Any of us who have watched the financial statements of large companies must have seen them doing cheerfully during the war an immensely increased amount of work for *less* than their peacetime rates of profit.

What is happening is that that minority of the population powerfully organized in unions (and I approve of unions if wisely led) are now in position to force a temporary large increase in their buying power. Of course they will then buy more than they would if having less income, but they buy only part of their output. There is no *average* reservoir of profits from which their increased wages can be taken.

A few prosperous companies doubtless will be able to absorb the increased wage cost. But in any community, all employers have to pay approximately the same wage rates to obtain similar talent. Unless prices generally are increased to reflect the higher wage rates, businesses will be liquidated and unemployment ensue. This will not be allowed to happen, as it would be disastrous to the nation. Therefore what actually happens is our dollar will be depreciated, and the increase in buying power obtained by the unionized workers will be, first, at the expense of all those living on fixed dollar incomes, including educational and charitable institutions and all recipients of insurance policy benefits, and presently the higher prices required will reduce the farmer's buying power; and a depression will follow.

This situation is very clearly expounded by an editorial of James H. McGraw, Jr., of the McGraw-Hill Company, "Incentives Furnish the Drive." He calls attention to the fact that for forty years, from 1899 to 1939, the average share of all realized U.S.A. manufacturing output "of wages and salaries has been 82½% against 17½% as the share to investors (including dividends, interest, rents, royalties, and noncorporate profits)." The rise of 77% in average manufacturing weekly earnings from January 1941 to April 1945 was to reduce the investment share to 10%, which was reasonable during the war. A 24% general wage increase would reduce the share going to capital from 17½% to 11%. Capital is more plentiful and cheaper than it used to be in the U.S.A. but it is still essential to maintain employment. If the investor's share is reduced below what will attract enough saving to expand equipment, unemployment will result from that cause also.

J. PASSMORE ELKINTON.

Non-Violence *Is* Enough

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I admire André Trocme's thought so much that I would not wish to point out his faulty use of "non-violent" if I did not believe that such use can lead to serious consequences. Otherwise, he has given excellent evidence to prove that non-violence *is* enough.

Though "non-violence" is negative in construction, it is not negative in meaning. The greatest exponent of its use in the world today, if not in all the history of its use, Mahatma Gandhi, has given it a very positive meaning. Indeed, passivity is rejected as itself of the essence of violence. There is, according to Gandhi, no such thing as non-violence without love.

But even in popular thought, fed only with one-sided, sensational items in the news, the non-violence of Gandhi means resistance. He has had a lot to say about the kind of cowardliness which André Trocme describes. He accuses such people of sharing in the violence which exists. This negative side, non-co-operation, is merely *what love does when it is obstructed in its fulfillment by lovelessness.* It could be mere resistance, without the element of love, but it could be also genuine conscientious objection like that of the Boston Tea Party or John Brown's rebellion. Conscientious objection has in its history most often been violent rather than non-violent. It is this wedding of the two, in general application, which is new in history and is the great gift of Gandhi to the democratic tradition.

More important is the fact that non-violence, in the Gandhian usage, applies at chosen intervals to co-operation as well as non-co-operation with the injustices which are strenuously repudiated. It is this which is hardest for the Western-trained mind to grasp. It is probably true that, measured in time given to each of these, the method of non-violent "strategic co-operation" has been the more predominant in the movement. This is very significant. The world, through reporting in the news, knows little about this *great positive of non-violence.*

When one is non-violent (just another way of saying when one takes love as his way) there are times when one's inner integrity (prayerfully identified as a fragment of God's intention) would be violated if one did not take the way of non-co-operation. Such a time in Jesus' work came when he set his face to go to the cross. But Jesus too had a very positive ministry which he deliberately abandoned for this step, even against the judgment of his closest followers. This indicates that there are also times when, for the same reason, the way of co-operation has to be taken in order to be true to the inner light, at times, even when the elements are still there which are repudiated and which violate the spirit that leads to the decision.

Such a delicate decision, as to which is strictly non-violent, this choice which we are always having to make if we are conscientious, is quite beyond the range of ordinary human reasoning. It can only come out of on *other-regard* which is profound and which is itself a result of identity with the Eternal. This is the act of faith expressed in those favorite lines of Gandhi selected from one of our greatest Christian hymns:

"I do not ask to see
The distant scene; one step
enough for me."

This walking enfolded in the eternal love is the secret of non-violence, according to Gandhi. Without it non-violence cannot exist as a fact within the life.

RALPH T. TEMPLIN.

82 Cheerful Givers?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

For the past five years we have been members of the FOR, working actively for its aims and spirit, and giving our minimum contribution each year ($1.00 of which we asked to have forwarded to our Denominational Pacifist Fellowship) as well as a five or ten dollar gift at Christmas, or at any other time when manna descended upon us from heaven. Like most other young pacifist couples, we have been hit in recent years by the demands of Selective Service. We also have home and family plans for the future which will put a considerable drain upon our income—which, incidentally, is derived from religious work, and so cannot stand too many demands. We also contribute regularly to a church.

When making out a tentative budget for this year, we sat down to evaluate the outlets for our money, and we have come to the conclusion that the time is so crucial and the FELLOWSHIP message so needed that we ought to make a special effort to send a regular contribution to the FOR. We decided to try to send ten dollars a month as a minimum. Subsequently we learned that this puts us in the ranks of the 82 highest-contributing members. We are therefore writing to urge other members to rethink their giving to FOR in the year of our Lord 1946, and of the Atomic Bomb the First.

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